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Improving attainment across a whole district: school reform through peer tutoring in a randomized controlled trial

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Abstract

Districts are an important unit for administrative purposes but they vary little in their impact on students' attainment, at least in the UK. Further, government attempts to raise attainment are often disappointing. This project aimed to engage schools in reform to change students' attainment and attitudes in schools across a whole district. The intervention, peer tutoring, has a good research pedigree in small scale studies but scaling it up to district-level implementation has not been rigorously evaluated. Over a two years, 129 elementary schools in one Scottish district were randomly assigned to different interventions. The implementation was not perfect but the results were positive with respect to cross age tutoring which had Effect Sizes of about 0.2.

Despite limitations the study demonstrates that it is possible to carry out a clustered RCT on a large scale working with districts and suggests that peer tutoring has promise when scaled up.

Keywords: peer tutoring; learning; reading; maths; school reform

Introduction

Two issues motivated the work behind this study. Firstly, evidence suggests that it is hard for large-scale top-down reform to improve students' attainment. Expensive policy initiatives often have little impact (see for example Haney, 2000; Tymms, 2004a). Tymms and Merrell (2007) reviewed evidence of standards and quality in English primary schools from the introduction of the Education Reform Act in 1988 up to 2007. They concluded that despite the Act and many initiatives introduced nationally since that time, including national literacy and numeracy strategies, there was virtually no improvement in reading standards and a small improvement in maths. Despite considerable variation in raw data, evidence points to little variation in students' attainment across districts once controls are made for prior attainment (Tymms et al., 2008) or backgrounds (Willms, 1987). Secondly, while randomized controlled trials (RCTs) conducted at the student level are common enough to have generated valuable systematic reviews, policy is made at a higher level (often at district, state or national level) and it would be premature to assume that interventions with an established evidence base at the student level will be effective if introduced as policy for school reform (Tymms, Merrell and Coe, 2008). Following Slavin and Smith (2009) it is anticipated that implementing a programme at policy level is likely to produce smaller gains than in the optimum conditions usually encountered on a smaller scale.

This paper describes an RCT introduced at the level of a Scottish Education Authority (school district). The technique held the promise of large-scale cost-effective impact and had not previously been evaluated on such a scale in the UK.

Why was a district in Scotland chosen?

At the time of the study, the curriculum in Scotland was not as prescriptive as in many countries and schools were given a reasonable amount of freedom. Additionally, Scottish district educational officers tended to work closely with their schools and their support was an important factor for successfully implementing the RCT.

Peer tutoring

Topping and Ehly (1998) provide a theoretical model of how peer tutoring promotes cognitive gains. The model addresses organizational/structural features of the learning interaction, such as: maximising time on/engaged with task; the need for tutor and tutee to elaborate goals/plans; the individualization of learning and immediacy of feedback; the excitement and variety of a different kind of learning interaction. In the model peer tutoring involves support and scaffolding from a peer tutor, necessitating management of activities within the 'Zone of Proximal Development'. This results in co-construction (the tutor acts as co-learner and any potential damaging excess of challenge is minimized). Tutors manage and modulate the information processing demands upon the learner. The tutor provides a cognitive model of competent performance. The cognitive demands upon the tutor are great. They have to monitor learner performance and detect, diagnose, correct and manage misconceptions/errors. Heavy demands are made upon the communication skills of peers in this relationship, both the tutors and tutees.

For the tutee a trusting relationship with a peer tutor who holds no position of authority might facilitate self-disclosure of ignorance/misconception. Trust is reported to be very important to allow learners to take risks and expose their learning and misconceptions to each other (Lahno, 2001). This should facilitate diagnosis and correction. These sub-processes feed into a larger onward process of extending declarative knowledge, procedural skill, and conditional and selective application of knowledge and skills, by, adding to and extending current capabilities (accretion), modifying current capabilities (re-tuning), and rebuilding new understanding (restructuring in areas of completely new learning or cases of gross misconception) (Rumelhart & Norman, 1983). This should lead to the joint construction of a shared understanding between tutor and tutee.

Peer tutoring might facilitate a greater volume of engaged and successful practice, leading to consolidation, fluency and automaticity of core skills. In particular this may occur for the tutor as they have to prepare and deliver teaching to the tutee (Thurston & Topping, 2007). As this occurs, both tutor and tutee give feedback to each other. Spontaneous feedback that may be less focused on the actual outcomes of learning is likely to occur in the earlier stages. As the learning relationship develops, both tutor and tutee should begin to become more consciously aware of what is happening in their learning interaction, and consequently more able to monitor and regulate the effectiveness of their own learning strategies. This development into fully conscious explicit and strategic meta-cognition is likely to promote more effective onward learning. It should also make both tutor and tutee more confident that they can achieve even more, and that success is the result of their own efforts. The conclusion of this is that the process is not linear, but cyclical and represents a 'reflect and connect' process. The affective and cognitive outcomes feed back into the originating sub-processes to form a positive reinforcement loop.

Peer tutoring is a specific form of peer learning. It generally involves one student teaching another where pairs are typically of differing academic standing and sometimes differing ages. They can be distinguished from 'collaborative learning' which implies a more symmetrical relationship in terms of the academic levels of the peers. Peer tutoring normally refers to two pupils working in a dyad as tutor and tutee, within which each individual has defined roles with protocols for interaction.

There have been a number of systematic reviews and meta-analyses in the area. Cohen, Kulik and Kulik (1982), reported moderate academic gains overall and larger effects in more structured programs and programs of shorter duration. Effects were also larger when lower level skills were taught and tested on examinations, and for mathematics rather than reading. Effects were larger on locally developed than on nationally standardized tests. Other studies reiterated these positive outcomes (Kalkowski, 1995; Rohrbeck, Ginsburg-Block, Fantuzzo, & Miller, 2003). Rohrbeck

et al. (2003) found more positive results for younger students and for those coming from lower income families, urban setting and minorities. Fitz-Gibbon (1992) noted greater gains for tutors. Evaluations of peer tutoring programs for mathematics have shown positive impacts on attainment (Fantuzzo, Polite & Grayson, 1990; Greenwood, Delquadri & Hall, 1989; Gyanani & Pahuja, 1995,) and also on student's self-reported levels of mathematics ability (Fantuzzo, King & Heller, 1992).

The claims for positive outcomes for both the tutors and the tutees extend beyond the academic. Ginsburg-Block, Rohrbeck and Fantuzzo (2006) indicated that peer assisted learning which focused on academic outcomes could also improve social and self-concept outcomes in elementary schools, although the ESs were small to moderate. Foot, Shute, Morgan and Barron (1990), and Utley and Mortweet (1997) found that cross-age tutoring enhanced the social skills of the students involved in the sessions. Studies by Gaustad (1993), Kalkowski (2001), Topping (1988), and Utley and Mortweet (1997) suggested that cross-age tutoring enhanced self-esteem and social interaction and resulted in a more cooperative classroom and an improved school atmosphere.

In a small-scale study it was reported that low-income underachieving school students in three elementary school settings increased their arithmetic performance with same-age peer tutoring. Students doubled their test scores during the intervention (Fantuzzo, Polite & Grayson, 1990). Significant gains in spatial ability were reported in a sample of 214 eleven to sixteen-year-old pupils in a three-month same-age peer learning intervention (Gyanani & Pahuja, 1995). Same-age peer tutoring in mathematics was reported to have a positive impact on mathematical ability and student self-reported levels of maths ability when compared to control groups in a randomized trial of 64 nine-year-old pupils (Fantuzzo, King & Heller, 1992). Significant gains in mathematics were reported for a sample of 175 six to ten-year-old children for socio-economically disadvantaged children compared to control children in a class wide peer tutoring initiative (Greenwood, Delquadri & Hall, 1989).

Fixed role cross-age tutoring has also been shown to be effective in raising pupil achievement. One finding associated with cross-age tutoring reported by researchers is that, in the process of tutoring, tutors reinforce their own knowledge base and skills. That is, tutors learn the material thoroughly and in a way that is more easily remembered (Fitz-Gibbon, 1978). Results presented in previous meta-analyses of Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs) of Peer Learning (Cohen, Kulik & Kulik, 1982; Cook, Scruggs, Mastropieri & Casto, 1986) showed positive effect sizes (ES) in the range of 0.40 and 0.80. Cohen et al. (1982) reported in a meta-analysis of 52 cross-age tutoring studies that tutors generally exhibited a small, but significant improvement in academic performance; they found the average effect size for the tutors to be 0.33. Tutoring effects were larger in more structured programs, and in tutoring programs of shorter duration. The effects were also larger when lower level skills were taught and tested on examinations. Effects were larger on locally developed tests and smaller on nationally standardized tests. In 33 of the 38 studies investigating effects in this area, students who served as tutors performed better than did control students on examinations in the subject being taught.

Some studies have found positive effects for use of high intensity studies of peer tutoring of 30 minutes per day, five days per week. However, as intensity increases so do the time and resources required to implement an intervention. One consequence of this is reported to be that it can become difficult to support students in a typical classroom (Barnett, Daly, Jones, & Lentz, 2004). In a class-wide peer tutoring initiative with five volunteer elementary school teachers running peer tutoring over 19 weeks, increased spelling outcomes were positively associated with higher levels of 'intensity' of treatment. Analysis consisted of post-hoc comparison of implementation intensity data with outcomes (Greenwood, Terry, Arreaga-Mayer & Finney, 1992). Higher intensity peer tutoring was reported to raise attainment levels in children with additional support needs, but to have a less pronounced effect on those without (Beirne-Smith, 1991). One issue for previous studies of peer tutoring is that levels of intensity of intervention often vary between studies (Fuchs, Fuchs, Mathes &

Simmons, 1997). Few studies have specifically set out to examine intensity as a dependent variable in a randomized trial of peer tutoring.

This study used specific techniques. The first was Paired Reading, which is characterized by specific role taking as tutor or tutee, with high focus on error correction and clear procedures for interaction, in which participants receive training. Peer tutoring with explicit reading strategy instruction has been reported to raise reading attainment levels (Van Keer, 2004; Van Keer, & Verhaeghe, 2005). When Paired Reading is implemented with reasonably high integrity, results are typically good (Topping, 1987, 1998). Paired Reading focuses the contact and feedback from tutor to tutee on error correction (Topping, 1998). For optimal success during peer tutoring in literacy it seems that there needs to be an attainment differential between tutors and tutees (Duran & Monereo, 2005). Without the appropriate gap both tutor and tutee can be under stimulated (Greenwood, Terry, Arreaga-Mayer & Finney, 1992). In terms of the amount of time required, Fuchs, Fuchs, Mathes and Simmons (1997) indicated positive effects for Peer-Assisted Learning Strategies techniques using class wide reciprocal peer tutoring in reading amongst grade 2-6 students in elementary and middle schools when implemented for 35 minutes per day, 3 days a week over a 15 week period.

The second technique was Duolog mathematics, which requires the tutor to encourage the tutee to solve the mathematics questions with high emphasis on developing metacognitive awareness of the processes and strategies being utilized (Topping, Kearney, McGee, & Pugh, 2004). In a small-scale study it was reported that low-income underachieving school students in three elementary school settings increased their arithmetic performance due to reciprocal peer tutoring. Students doubled their test scores during the intervention (Fantuzzo, Polite & Grayson, 1990). Significant gains in spatial ability were reported in a sample of 214, eleven to sixteen-year-old students in a three-month reciprocal role peer learning intervention (Gyanani & Pahuja, 1995). Significant gains in mathematics were reported for a sample of 175 six to ten-year-old children for socio-economically disadvantaged children compared

to control children in a class wide peer tutoring initiative (Greenwood, Delquadri & Hall, 1989). However, the specific technique of cross-age fixed role Duolog maths was less well researched than Paired Reading prior to this study.

Evidence of School reform

Ways to achieve systematic school reform have been well researched. A study involving the implementation of 395 high schools in the USA found that it was often difficult to change pupil instruction during school reform. One of the major issues in determining the ability of school reform to change student instruction was whether or not the school has systemically subscribed to the proposed reform model (Ravitz, 2010). To aid this process, feedback from school reform partners to schools was reported to be important in a study of ten schools undertaking reform in the aftermath of hurricane Katrina in the USA (Beabout, 2010). This feedback was also reported to be important in a study of four middle and high schools in the Southern USA. In this study, performance management feedback methods were reported to be important in making explicit links between school reform aims and changes in classroom instruction practices. Methods utilised included observations and assessment feedback to teachers (Kaufman, 2010).

The importance of school leaders and funders of reform integrating structural arrangements and instructional practices has been previously reported to lead to accelerated rapid and dramatic improvement in school performance (Kuo, 2010). School district support was reported to be essential to effective school reform in a USA school. In addition the importance of not having too many new initiatives going on at the same time was also highlighted. It appeared better to keep the focus of both the school district and the school on a small and focused initiative (Bronson, 2010). In a study focusing on a school district wide initiative to engage learners at risk in school it was concluded that four issues influence the effectiveness of school district wide reform: (1) There needed to be coherence of a collective moral purpose and compelling conceptualization regarding the theory of action; (2) There must be alignment and interconnectedness of the organizational constructs and structures

between the school district and what is required to support schools; (3) Building capacity needed to be seen as a core function throughout the district by district managers; (4) There was an emerging understanding of the 'defined autonomy' between the district expectations and each school's unique local circumstances (Gifford, 2010). Head teachers can play a pivotal role in facilitating school reform. It was reported that head teachers who ensured broad participation and representation helped facilitate school reform (Muijs & Harris, 2006). However, whilst the effect of school leadership was reported to have a significant effect on 2290 teachers' classroom practice in a 4-year evaluation of England's National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies in 665 English primary schools, it did not ultimately influence pupil attainment during the same period (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2006).

The school context within which reform is taking place can have a significant influence on whether school reform is successful. A study reporting data from 57 schools undertaking school-wide reading reform indicated significant differences between successes at the school level. The factor that appeared to account for this variance was implementation integrity. It was reported that although self-report of implementation integrity could not account for differences at the school level (questioning the validity of such a measure) the external tools to assess validity were important (Fien, Kame'enui & Good, 2009). The educational context within which school reform takes place can influence outcomes. Factors that influence the reform outcomes have been reported to include improvement culture and improvement processes (Reezigt & Creemers, 2005). The way in which schools adopt reform has been developed into a taxonomy for change agents. This taxonomy identifies four stages to school reform (Wetherill & Applefield, 2005). Firstly schools are in a premature change state, there is an absence of readiness for change. After time schools may move to a hesitant change state during which they can begin the process of change. At this point the school is in a developing change state and sustained progress towards school reform can be made. Finally schools enter an established change state and continued growth is facilitated through the new reforms.

School reform in large scale projects is not only about systemic features of change. Engagement of parents has been reported to be useful as partners in school reform (Martinez-Cosio, 2010). The important role that practitioners play in facilitating school reform was reported in a school reform initiative in an Ohio City school. Here practitioners (referred to as agents of school reform) reported that aspects of the process that were positive in helping school reform included hearing what was important from other practitioners and bringing together people to share ideas and experiences (Magolda & Ebben, 2007). The importance of ensuring that teachers interpret reform meanings in alignment with the vision and goals of a new curriculum was reported as important in a school district wide implementation of a new primary school science curriculum in South Africa (Bantwini, 2010). Professional development has an important role to play in driving school reform. In a literacy reform study involving 41 primary-grade teachers from five high-poverty schools in the USA it was concluded that professional development must be embedded within school contexts, have clear goals and outcomes, and must be readily available to the recipient population in an on-demand fashion (Nielsen, Barry & Staab, 2008).

The false-dualism between top-down and bottom-up school reform was explored during a study of school reform in 25 elementary schools in Memphis, USA. In this study the inter-connect between school district based ‘outside-in’ support for reform whilst reform was also built by practitioners within school was highlighted as being important in raising attainment at the school level (Ross, Sanders, Wright, Stringfield, Wang & Alberg, 2001). Despite the many reported studies of school reform, the data reported from the Fife Peer Learning Project would represent the largest attempt to systematically conduct an experimental project on school reform with clear research aims and independent measures ever undertaken in the Scottish school system.

The research aims of the Fife Peer Learning Project

The project investigated the following key questions, with the aim of evaluating the impact of scaling up a range of systematically implemented peer learning conditions. Specifically:

- **Which works best in practice: Same age or cross age tutoring?** Cross age tutoring involves an older student tutoring a younger one. Same-age tutoring is usually easier to organize but previous studies show cross-age tutoring to be more effective. This question is addressed separately for reading and mathematics.
- **Is an intensive or a lighter approach most effective?** Although three sessions of peer-tutoring have been found to be effective (for example Fuchs et al., 1997), it might be too difficult to sustain in practice, especially with cross-age interventions. Intensive interventions might also lead to boredom. Perhaps a lighter approach with fewer sessions per week is more successful. This question is addressed separately for reading and mathematics.
- **Is it more beneficial for students to participate in only reading or mathematics peer tutoring or for them to participate in both?** Involving two subjects could help to reinforce a positive experience across areas.

Methods

Design

A factorial clustered randomised controlled design was employed in which schools were either allocated to cross or same age tutoring; light or intensive tutoring; maths, reading or maths & reading, and they either worked with pupils aged 8 years (the year-group termed 'Primary 4' in Scotland) or pupils aged 10 years (the year-group termed

‘Primary 6’ in Scotland). The design is illustrated in Table 1, and involved twelve different intervention groups.

Insert Table 1 here

Fife Authority is a large district within Scotland supporting 145 primary (elementary) schools, ensuring a sufficiently large sample. The random allocation was carried out by the provider of the assessments (Centre for Evaluation and Monitoring (CEM), Durham University). The Centre runs large-scale monitoring systems covering the 3–18 age range which enable schools and colleges to track the progress and attitudes of their students (www.cemcentre.org). The participants agreed to being involved in the random allocation before it was carried out and all were told their allocation. The administration of the tests designed to generate the outcome measures was carried out by the schools which were not blind to group allocation. Marking was carried out independently by personnel who were blind to the allocation. None of the researchers working in the schools were blind to the allocations. The number of schools per group is summarized in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 here

NB The figures are not symmetrically distributed for two reasons: i) Nine schools joined the project after the initial allocation; ii) the process adopted to assign the Primary 4/Primary 6 intervention groups. One hundred and twenty nine schools (88% of the elementary schools in the district) agreed to be randomly assigned to an intervention. From the participating schools, two cohorts of students were selected, the younger were aged 8 years (Primary 4) at the start of the project and the older were aged 10 years (Primary 6). In all, around 8,847 students were involved. The numbers of girls and boys were very similar (50.9% male) as were the numbers of students in the younger and older cohorts (54% older).

Involving the schools

Prior to the start of the project, school Principals attended a meeting at which the plans were outlined. As a result, 120 out of 145 schools immediately agreed to be involved and 9 subsequently agreed. The project began with an in-service training day for staff teaching in Primary 4 and Primary 6 from all participating schools. This is described later.

Inevitably, changes occurred during the two years of the project which might have threatened to compromise the original design. These are itemised below:

- a) Students moved schools; 286 students (6.8% of the sample). This was felt to be beyond the influence of the project, but represented modest attrition.
- b) Schools dropped out or changed their intervention group; 26 schools (about 20% of the sample). These were mostly small schools or schools where the head teacher was changing. Great efforts were made by the researchers to prevent such changes by personal approaches to those involved and they were kept to a minimum.
- c) The project was originally designed such that for cross-age interventions the younger pupils in Primary 4 would tutor students two years younger. However, in the first year of the project just prior to implementation, for logistical reasons a decision was taken that the Primary 4 students would not act as tutors but would be the tutees for Primary 6 students. This change continued for the second year of the interventions.

The Participant Flow Diagrams shown in Figures 1a and 1b summarise the numbers of schools and pupils in the project at key points. They can be summarised as follows: For the Younger Cohort, from the 145 schools in the authority, 129 agreed to be involved and the project finished with data from 119 (92% of those agreeing to take part). For the older cohort, from the same total number of schools and number agreeing to participate, data were finally available from 93 schools (72% of those agreeing to take part). The larger fall in numbers for the older cohort was because some schools were not willing to collect data at the very end.

Insert Figures 1a and 1b here

In the results section any bias due to drop out is assessed by comparing the maths and reading scores of pupils who were assessed prior to the interventions in schools agreeing to participate and who were not assessed at the end with those for whom there was complete data.

Interventions

The interventions were implemented between Christmas and the Summer vacation with the participating cohorts for two consecutive years. In Scotland the School year starts in early August. Students are in school for about six weeks and have a two-week holiday. They return to school until Christmas, when they have another two-week holiday. After Christmas they return to school again until Easter. The Scottish school holidays are always taken to include the Easter weekend. After another two-week holiday students return and remain in school until the end of June when the school summer-holiday begins. There are no half-term holidays in these periods, but there are bank-holidays and five planned professional development days for teachers when schools are closed. This meant that the students started either in Primary 4 or Primary 6 and moved up to Primary 5 and Primary 7 respectively for the second year of the project. The cross-age interventions involved the Primary 6/7 students tutoring the Primary 4/5 tutees. The same-age interventions involved either the Primary 4/5 students or the Primary 6/7 students tutoring students of the same age. The intensive interventions took place three times a week, light once a week. Each session lasted for thirty minutes. All participating schools were randomly assigned to an intervention. Those schools assigned to the reading intervention acted as a comparison group for those assigned to the maths intervention. Those schools whose Primary 4 cohort was assigned to an intervention served as a comparison group for those schools whose Primary 6 cohort was assigned to an intervention, and so on.

Implementation

Prior to the project, the Centre for Peer Learning at Dundee University had developed and field-tested suitable peer-learning packages in reading and mathematics. These were described in more detail in the section Evidence for peer learning.

Matching of pairs

Pairs were matched on the basis of previous reading or mathematics attainment (depending on the subject being tutored). In the cross-age condition students within classes were ordered from highest to lowest in reading/mathematics attainment. The top-attaining tutor in the older class tutored the top-attaining tutee in the younger class; the second top tutor tutored the second top tutee in the younger class, and so on. In the same-age condition the class was ordered from highest to lowest attainment in reading/mathematics. All above the mid-point became tutors, all below became tutees. The top-attaining tutor tutored the top attaining tutee; second top tutored the second top tutee, and so on. Once matched, the advice given to teachers was that pairs stayed together for the duration of the intervention period. At the beginning of the intervention period, teachers were allowed some latitude to switch pairs who were clearly not able to form a working partnership. These processes were adopted on the basis that previous research indicated that an attainment gap was preferable to optimise the interactions and benefit within pairs (Duran & Moreneo, 2005). The matching technique was originally reported and described in some detail by Fuchs et al. (1997). It had also been piloted for reading in a number of previous design experiments (Topping, 1987).

Paired Reading technique

The Paired Reading technique involved switching between the tutor and tutee reading together and the tutee reading alone. The book chosen by pairs had to be above the independent readability level of the tutee, but below that of the tutor and appropriate to their interest. This facilitated the tutor helping the tutee through the error correction

process. Readability level was decided by using a simple test. Tutees randomly selected twenty words from the book from four different pages. They did this by closing their eyes and placing their outstretched fingers on the book. They read the word underneath their fingers. If the tutee could read between thirteen and nineteen words the book was deemed to be at the right level of readability. Teachers also checked the appropriateness of readability of books during observations. The tutor and tutee started by reading together. The tutee signalled to read alone. Upon an error the tutor waited 4-5 seconds and if the tutee did not self correct, was corrected by the tutor. The tutee repeated the error word correctly and the pair read together again until the tutee signalled to read alone. The tutee read alone until the next error.

Duolog mathematics technique

Duolog Mathematics involved discussion between tutor and tutee to help solve mathematics problems. Student interactions adopted the following structure. First they read the mathematics problem together. Then the tutor would contextualise the problem for the tutee. The tutor would question the tutee as to how they would approach solving the problem. The tutee talked out loud as they solved the problem. Tutor and tutee checked answers, and summarised the nature of learning on that problem. Finally, the tutor generalised that learning to related but new contexts. Problems attempted by students were drawn from a variety of sources including those developed by the school district educational development service.

Continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers

Teachers attended two CPD sessions per year starting in November of the first academic year of the intervention. The first day provided an overview of the techniques and research design. Demonstrations of the Paired Reading and Duolog maths techniques were given. A manual to support teachers was provided for each school. Finally, the teachers were allowed to forward plan with other teachers from

the same 'experimental condition' and start to consider the issues that may arise for them when implementing the project. Separate training was provided to staff implementing Paired Reading and Duolog maths. Those implementing both had access to both sessions. A second day in May towards the end of the first year of the intervention focused on sharing successes with teachers and having teachers evaluate year one of the project. The majority of teachers attended these events. For those teachers not able to attend, research fellows visited schools on request offering support and further training. Further support involved classroom visits and twilight meetings for clusters of schools. In year two of the intervention, similar training was provided for teachers who were new to the project. All teachers were invited to attend the final CPD event in May as this was also used to celebrate achievements and evaluate the project from the teachers' perspective. In year one of the study 188 teachers attended CPD day one and 182 attended CPD day two. In year two of the study a number of the teachers were continuing to teach the same class and so did not attend the CPD session (they had been trained in the previous year and had already been running the intervention for a year). Therefore, 71 teachers who were new to the technique, attended CPD day three at the start of the second year of the intervention.

Training of pupils

Training videos were provided for both interventions. In maths the training and advice manual provided differentiated problems specifically designed for the training of pupils. Teachers were advised to model the techniques for students with another staff member.

Length and duration of intervention

The intervention took place over a period of 18 months. This spanned a period from January in one school year, to June in the following school year. The intervention lasted for 15 weeks in year one and 15 weeks in year two.

Measures

Prior to the project, and for its duration, the district had an assessment system in place (the Performance Indicators in Primary Schools (PIPS) project) provided by CEM that enabled the progress of students to be monitored on a regular basis. At the time of the study, PIPS assessments were used by all schools in one-third of Scottish districts. Schools and districts paid an annual registration fee. CEM provided the assessments, marked and analysed the data and fed back standardized pupil-level results (PIPS, 2011). This system was used to evaluate the impact of the interventions. The assessments were group pencil and paper tests of mathematics, reading, science (Primary 7 only), vocabulary, non-verbal ability and attitudes to mathematics and reading. They were administered by the school staff and took approximately three half-hour sessions to complete (4 for Primary 7, which included an assessment of science). The curriculum-based assessments of maths, reading and science were aligned to the Scottish 5–14 Curriculum, which was in use across all elementary schools involved in the study. The assessments had good psychometric properties (Tymms, 1999). The PIPS system administers assessments at fixed times. The timing of the assessments in relation to the implementation of the interventions is shown in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 here.

Analyses

Students are nested within schools and to take account of this clustering the data were analysed using two level multi-level models. This is essentially a sophisticated form of regression analysis in which the interventions were identified with dummies. A code of one was used for the dummies and a zero identified those not involved with the intervention. The outcomes and controls were normalised at the student level and given a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. The models deal with each of the research questions noted above and compare those involved in an intervention with all of the rest of the students and schools in the year group for whom data were available.

For example in one model the maths results of students involved with same age and cross age peer tutoring in maths in the older cohort are compared with the maths results of all other students.

For the Picture Vocabulary outcome the analysis focussed on the reading interventions whereas for Science and Non-verbal measures the analyses focussed on the maths interventions.

In further analyses, which are not reported in detail, explanatory variables in the form of achievement and attitude measures collected from before the interventions were introduced into the models at the student level.

The Effect Sizes (ESs) were calculated using the formula for school level intervention using multi-level models given in Tymms (2004b).

$$Effect_Size = \frac{\beta}{\sigma}$$

Where β is the coefficient for the dummy representing the intervention and σ is the square root of the variance at the student level from the null model.

This measure of Effect Size is equivalent to Cohen's d and Cohen (1992) suggests that an effect size of 0.2 to 0.3 is taken to be a small effect, 0.5 as a medium effect and greater than 0.8 as a large effect although he acknowledges that interpretation must be dependent on context.

In the analyses schools were treated as the unit of analysis and the dummies were applied to whole schools, even though in larger schools the advice was to concentrate on specific classes. This is a conservative approach. The thinking being that it is virtually impossible to isolate practice to one class within a year group over two years when teachers, pupils and ideas were able to move but it is acknowledged that it is quite possible that some classes did not get involved with the project.

The two cohorts are analysed separately. Technically, the random assignment controls for bias and no statistical controls are necessary, but including controls for prior measures increases the power of the investigation. However, it also decreases the sample size because not all pupils were present on the two occasions. Because of this

attrition the analyses reported here were carried out without controls although the alternative approach was used and the results are noted.

The comparisons between interventions are as follows:

- Same age and cross age peer tutoring were compared with no allocation to peer tutoring.
- Light frequency of sessions and intensive peer tutoring were compared with no allocation to peer tutoring.
- Mathematics alone and reading alone and with mathematics plus reading peer tutoring were compared with no allocation to peer tutoring.

The analyses for each of the above comparisons were carried out separately for each outcome for both cohorts

Fidelity of treatment

The implementation of the peer tutoring interventions was investigated through observations of a randomly selected sample of participating schools (Thurston, Conlin, Merrell, Miller, Topping & Tymms, 2009). For reading these visits took place between 8-11 weeks into the implementation phase of the project in both years one and two. Implementation integrity in respect of compliance to the Paired Reading technique was very high across all conditions with the error correction process occurring correctly in 86.9% of instances when errors in reading were observed (Thurston et al., 2009). Similarly observations took place in classrooms implementing Duolog maths. These observations gathered data regarding the classroom processes occurring in the selected classes. Observation notes were made in respect of how successful each stage of the Duolog maths technique was being implemented. Data indicated that there was successful implementation of the Duolog maths process and that there was reasonably good adherence to the Duolog maths process (Topping & Thurston, 2007).

Implementation was also assessed by using an 8-item multiple-choice questionnaire covering the key features of the project. The latter was completed by participating Primary 7 and Primary 5 teachers. There were responses from 48 of the 65 schools (a total of 81 teachers). The full questionnaire is shown in Appendix 1. The questions required respondents to indicate which of the 4 options best described how smoothly particular aspects of peer tutoring were implemented in their school. The responses were scored 1 (always smoothly) to 4 (problematic). The results are shown in Table 10.

Insert Table 10 here

A high proportion of the teachers indicated that the peer tutoring interventions had been implemented without any problems for most or all of the time, and that the pairs of students worked reasonably well together without requiring attention from the teacher (Questions 1, 3, 5 and 8). Seventy four of the teachers who responded (92.5%) reported that they had followed the guidance on how to implement peer tutoring all or most of the time.

Results

Participant flow

As noted earlier there was some attrition so bias was assessed amongst the drop outs for schools that had agreed to take part. For both cohorts the reading and maths scores of the pupils collected in the year before the interventions started were used to compute the differences between pupils for whom data was collected at the end of the project and those who were not present. The results are summarised in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 here

The differences, reported in Effect Sizes were very small being around 0.1 standard deviation units or smaller. There was very little bias.

Multi-level models

By way of example, the null models for the younger cohort for cognitive outcomes are shown in Table 5 together with the first model which aimed to assess the impact of same and cross age tutoring.

Insert Table 5 here

Table 5 shows four null models (one for each outcome) and gives the mean result for each in the row named “constant”. The standard errors on the means are given in parenthesis. As expected all the means are very close to zero. The last two rows in the table show the variance of the scores partitioned between schools and students. Between 80 and 90 per cent of the total variance was associated with students and it is this student level variance which is used in the calculation of Effect Sizes.

Table five also shows four “1st models”. The rows for “same age” and “cross age” record the coefficients for the dummies identifying those interventions for maths. These dummies are then used to calculate the Effect Sizes (ESs) using the formula given earlier. For example, the ES for Cross age tutoring in maths is given by $(0.195/\sqrt{0.891})$. This gives an ES of 0.207 which is recorded in Table 5 together with the Standard Error which has been similarly adjusted.

Tables 6 to 8 show the summaries of all ESs for all the interventions for both cohorts for cognitive and attitudinal outcomes. Many results are presented in these tables and if each were treated in isolation then a number of coefficients in the tables would be significant at the 5% level. It would be possible to apply the Bonferroni correction to take in to account the number of comparisons which are made and if this is done none of the individual results are significant at the 5% level.

But the interest is in the consistency and size of impact of the interventions and in summarising the results, attention is drawn to ESs where they are equal or greater to the lowest figure which Cohen suggested was a small effect (0.2).

Insert Tables 6 & 7 here

The results displayed in Tables 6 and 7 for the cognitive outcomes are summarised by row.

Same age peer tutoring: No results had Effect Sizes as large as 0.2.

Cross age peer tutoring: All nine results were positive and all but one (non-verbal for the older cohort) had Effect Sizes of greater than 0.2.

Light peer tutoring: No results had Effect Sizes as large as 0.2.

Intensive peer tutoring: No results had Effect Sizes as large as 0.2.

Mathematics or reading peer tutoring alone: No results had Effect Sizes as large as 0.2.

Mathematics and reading peer tutoring together: Of the nine comparisons three had Effect Sizes of 0.2 or above and had Standard Errors substantially smaller than the coefficients. They were non-verbal ability for the younger cohort (ES=0.27) and, for the older cohort, reading and picture vocabulary (ES=0.28 & 0.21 respectively).

Results for the attitudinal outcomes are shown in Tables 8 and 9.

Insert Tables 8 & 9 here

None of results for the younger cohort had Effect Sizes as large as 0.2.

For the older cohort no Effect Sizes close to 0.2 were seen for mathematics. However, for reading peer tutoring, there was a negative (-0.23) Effect Size for same age tutoring. There was also a negative (-0.31) Effect Size for tutoring in reading alone. This contrasted with a positive impact (0.27) Effect Size for the use of reading and mathematics together. In all three cases the Standard Errors were less than half the size of the coefficients.

The analyses did not look at possible interactions because the random assignment at the school level did not leave sufficient numbers in each cell to give sufficient power to the investigation.

Summary of results

The interventions focussed on reading and mathematics and the analyses produced a clear conclusion. Cross age peer tutoring had a consistent impact ($ES=0.2$) on attainment in these subjects for both the younger and older cohorts. The results were also positive ($ES=0.2$) for Picture Vocabulary in both cohorts and for Science in the older cohort, (Science was not assessed for the younger cohort.) For non-verbal ability the impact was positive at the same level for the younger cohort but not the older cohort.

No other interventions had impacts with Effect Sizes as large as 0.2 on attainment in reading or maths. The use of maths and reading tutoring programs together had Effect Sizes as large as 0.2 on 3 of the possible 9 outcomes but there was no clear pattern and they were not in reading or maths.

For the attitude measures the interventions produced no impacts on the 21 out of the 24 interventions with ESs as great as 0.2. Three exceed 0.2 but two were negative and one was positive for the older cohort providing no clear pattern.

Cross age peer tutoring was consistent in its impact on attainment in reading and mathematics and no other clear pattern was identified. The analyses which used controls for prior measures confirmed this conclusion.

Discussion

The clustered randomised control trial reported in this paper was not perfect. Participants and researchers were not blind to allocations and there was loss of schools and pupils during the project. Further, the fidelity to implementation could have been more assiduously investigated. For these reasons alone any conclusions must be tentative. But the study has shown that it is possible to work with a whole

district to implement a large scale clustered randomized controlled trial and maintain a reasonable degree of implementation fidelity. Our conclusion, whilst noting the limitations, is that the process improved the learning of students through cross age peer tutoring.

Although this paper sought to evaluate the value of peer tutoring in various forms on a large scale, it inevitably evaluated a range of other factors. In addition to the technique of peer tutoring *per se*, the approach to peer tutoring adopted by the project is under scrutiny as is the implementation (fidelity to treatment) and the extent to which the approach was being used by controls. Further, peer tutoring was set up against ‘business as usual’ classroom teaching and so its efficacy is being judged not just against various forms of peer tutoring or no teaching but against teaching in its various forms. In this respect the classes not assigned to reading or mathematics interventions were able to act as comparison groups to those which were assigned to them. This is due to the fact that whilst the new pedagogy was adopted in the subject of intervention, the teaching of reading and mathematics (i.e. the subject in which no new pedagogy was adopted) followed the pedagogy and format normally adopted by the teacher. It is also useful to keep in mind that the intervention was carried out in two specific years and consequently encompassed generalisation from one teacher to another. In addition the research took place within a particular curriculum in a particular authority.

Despite the threats to validity, the fact that cross-age peer tutoring stood out as positively enhancing cognitive attainment for both reading and mathematics in two differently aged cohorts, for both tutors and tutees, is persuasive evidence of its value. It suggests that the approach is robust against the vagaries of implementation. Its modest impact might be improved through attention to detail, for example in extending or improving the continued professional development for teachers. The modest impact of Duolog maths might highlight a potential limitation. The provenance and probity of cross-ability Duolog maths was not that well established prior to undertaking this study. It would have to be acknowledged that the Duolog

maths might not have been ready for scale up in a randomized trial. In contrast the Paired Reading technique was well established in a UK context and had a robust research literature to support it.

A number of important conclusions can be drawn in respect of school district wide school reform in the UK from the Fife Peer Learning Project. Many of these relate to the process of school reform. Many of the reported school reform initiatives of a similar size and nature to the Fife Peer Learning Project stem from work in the USA. In an RCT of paired reading in 20 classrooms, Effect Sizes of growth on self-designed comprehension scores ranged from 0.10 for middle achievers in reading to 0.44 for low achieving students. It is important to note that previous research has reported that Effect Sizes tend to be of greater magnitude when self-designed, rather than standardized tests are used (albeit that this may often be due to treatment enhanced test performance). Cohen et al. (1982) reported in a meta-analysis of 52 cross-age tutoring studies that tutors generally exhibited average effect sizes for the tutors of 0.33. This Effect Size is higher than that reported for the Fife Peer Learning Project, but included data from projects that utilized self-designed tests, rather than standardized measures. In a study of 25 'Memphis Restructuring Schools' enhanced reading gains were reported when compared to a group of 34 'demographically matched' control schools (Effect Size 0.38 on standardized Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills). However, direct comparisons between this study and the Fife Peer Learning Project may be problematic. The Memphis Restructuring Schools study did not have a randomized design. Effect Sizes were based on gains (leading to the possibility of Type I error) and the sample size of reform and control schools differed (Ross et al., 2010). The need for using randomized controlled trials to establish the true extent of literacy school reform initiatives was highlighted by data from hierarchical linear multi-level modeling analysis of 3652 Kindergarten students nested within 57 Hawaiian Island schools. Significant school effects were observed on literacy outcome measures (Fien et al., 2009). Whilst randomization to condition does

not guarantee that school effects will not skew data, it does mean that the potential effects have equal probability of occurring within each experimental condition.

School management in Scotland has become more devolved to the school level since 1993 (Scottish Office Education Department, 1993). Devolved school management has resulted in Scottish schools having responsibility for dealing with development issues at the school level (Scottish Borders Council, 2003). This could be one reason why school district wide reform studies from Scotland are less well established and more difficult to plan. A feature of the Fife Peer Learning Project was the ability of the project team to engage school district managers, head teachers, teachers and parents from the school district as partners in the school reform process. The manner in which the sample was generated for the study was vital to this. The school district was a partner in the research/school reform process. The continuing professional development days were coordinated and funded in partnership with the school district. The Director of Education in the school district introduced each professional development event and affirmed the school district's commitment to the initiative. Head teachers included the school reform process into their individual school development plans and prioritised teacher attendance at the CPD events providing the leadership and participation required for effective school reform (Mujis & Harris, 2006). The CPD events also facilitated the establishment and development of networks of teachers. Teachers from similar experimental cells met during twilight sessions to discuss issues related to the school reform. The establishment of such networks was reported to be essential for effective school reform during a ten year study in one English local authority (Ainscow, 2010). This sort of systematic subscription to the school reform process is reported to be vital to promoting change within USA schools (Ravitz, 2010; Beabout, 2010). It would appear that similar systemic commitment would make for favourable conditions for school reform in Scotland. It is possible that the schools previous non-systematic experience of using peer learning techniques and the collective aspiration of potentially raising literacy and numeracy levels across the school district provided the schools with the collective

moral purpose and shared theory of action required for effective school reform. The theoretical model proposed by Gifford (2010) would appear to be reflected in the experiences of the Scottish school district. In Fife the high level involvement of the school district and the professional development of teachers gave a collective purpose and shared conceptualization regarding the aims and purposes of the project. As a result of this there was alignment of the organizational constructs of the school district and the support provided for schools. This process was probably further facilitated by close liaison between the research fellows supporting school and the school district. Having school district managers from Fife on the research planning board helped ensure that capacity was built within Fife to allow the intervention to flourish after the research was finished. Finally, there was close alignment between the individual schools', and the school districts' desire to increase literacy and numeracy levels.

Using well established methods of changing classroom practice were probably important in effecting changes in classroom interactions. In addition the use of other self-report as well as external measures of implementation validity during the project will probably have aided the school reform process in literacy (Fien, Kame'enui & Good, 2009). The less strong results in numeracy may reflect the fact that protocols for interaction were less firmly established in the Duolog Maths intervention. In addition a more qualitative method of observation and feedback was adopted for the Duolog maths observations. This resulted in feedback being less quantifiable and clear in terms of adherence to interaction protocols. Using teachers from schools within the school district during the second wave of CPD days facilitated the use of authentic voices of the school reform from amongst the teachers' own ranks. This has been reported as vital to the school reform process in the USA and appears to have similar benefits in Scotland (Magolda & Ebben, 2007).

Conclusion

The challenge for school reform in Scotland and wider within the UK will be to find ways of facilitating systematic change at the school district level in a climate of increasing devolution of school management and power. This is particularly prevalent in England where the establishment of the new 'Academy' status for schools may result in barriers to systematic school reform at the school district level (Department for Education, 2010). In Scotland with a strong professional body of teachers, the Fife Peer Learning Project has demonstrated that school reform at the district level is systemically possible. However, for this to happen the teachers would need to 'buy into' the proposed reform and therefore any proposed reform must have credibility with the teaching profession.

The project has established a model which can be used to further investigate the wide-scale systematic use of school reform, progressively focussing on factors which may enhance its efficacy. More broadly the project shows how a major large scale intervention designed to make changes to the working practice of schools can be successfully implemented in the UK. It also provided proof of concept. It is possible to randomly assign and work with more than 100 schools, and to learn collectively through large scale trials. Finally the study has contributed to the body of knowledge about a well established intervention (peer tutoring) by implementation school reform at the district level.

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Appendix 1

Fife Peer Learning Project: Questionnaire for Teachers

School: _____ Teacher: _____ Class: _____

1) How well have you been able to implement peer learning?

- ☐ *It has worked well with no problems*
- ☐ *It worked well most of the time although some sessions were problematic*
- ☐ *There were significant problems*
- ☐ *It was not possible to implement peer learning this year*

If you have ticked answer b, c, or d, please explain the nature and extent of the difficulties

.....

2) How closely did you follow the guidance given by Dundee University and the resource packs?

- ☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

3) Did you manage to sustain the required number of sessions of peer learning per week?

- ☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

4) Did you incorporate peer learning within curriculum time? E.g. Duolog Mathematics during the Mathematics session / Paired Reading during the time assigned for literacy.

☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

5) *Did the pairs you selected work well together?*

☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

6) *Did you use additional resources?*

☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

7) *Did you have sufficient resources?*

☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

8) *Did the children manage to work independently?*

☐ *Always* ☐ *Mostly* ☐ *Occasionally* ☐ *Never*

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Figure 1a Participant flow Diagram for Younger cohort

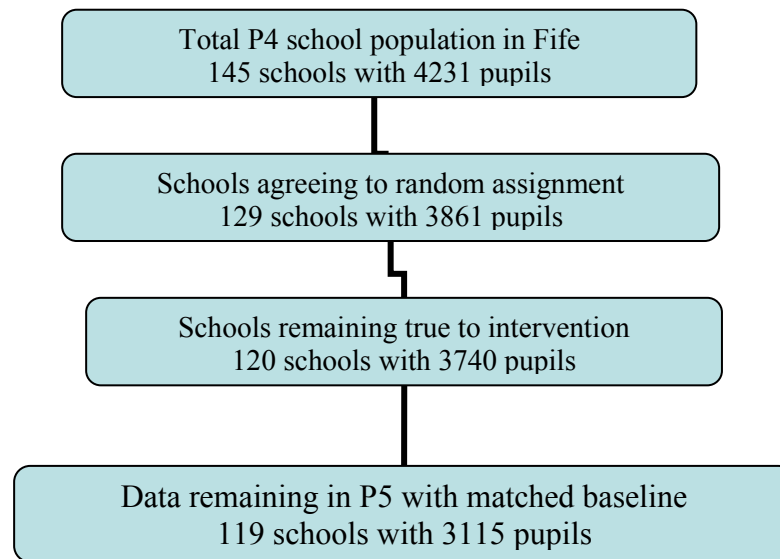


Figure 1b Participant flow Diagram for Older cohort

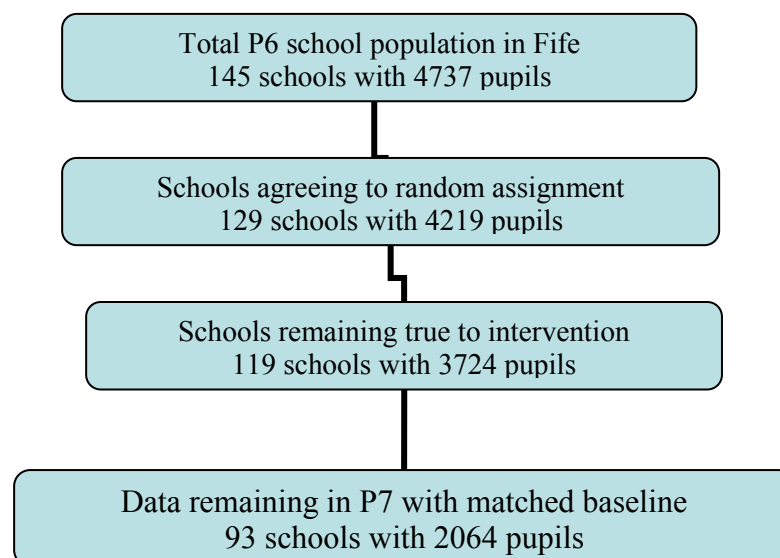


Table 1 Summary of intervention design

	<i>Same Age P4/5</i>	<i>Cross Age P6/7</i>
<i>Maths</i>	Intensive. . Light	Intensive. . Light
<i>Reading</i>	Intensive. . Light	Intensive. . Light
<i>Maths and Reading</i>	Intensive. . Light	Intensive. . Light

Table 2 Summary of peer tutoring intervention groups

	<i>Numbers of schools</i>	
	<i>Primary 4</i>	<i>Primary 6</i>
<i>Total number involved</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>129</i>
<i>Cross age as opposed to same age</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Intensive as opposed to light</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Mathematics only</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Reading only</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>Reading and mathematics</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>43</i>

Table 3 Summary of timing of assessments

<i>Younger cohort</i>				
<i>Primary 3</i>	<i>Primary 4</i>	<i>Primary 5</i>	<i>Primary 6</i>	<i>Primary 7</i>
<i>Baseline assessment administered in March of the academic year</i>	<i>Interventions implemented in January – June</i>	<i>Interventions implemented in January – June</i> <i>Outcome assessment administered in March</i>		
<i>Older cohort</i>				
		<i>Baseline assessment administered in March of the academic year</i>	<i>Interventions implemented in January - June</i>	<i>Interventions implemented in January – June</i> <i>Outcome assessment administered in June</i>

Table 4 Implementation questionnaire responses

<i>Question</i>	<i>Mean (Total number of teachers' responses in brackets)</i>	<i>Responses (percentage of total number of teachers' responses, number of teachers in brackets)</i>			
		<i>1 Smooth</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4 Problematic</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>1.7 (80)</i>	<i>33.8 (27)</i>	<i>61.3 (49)</i>	<i>2.5 (2)</i>	<i>2.5 (2)</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>1.8 (80)</i>	<i>30.0 (24)</i>	<i>62.5 (50)</i>	<i>5.0 (4)</i>	<i>3.8 (3)</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>1.9 (80)</i>	<i>25.0 (20)</i>	<i>66.3 (53)</i>	<i>5.0 (4)</i>	<i>3.8 (3)</i>
<i>4</i>	<i>2.2 (80)</i>	<i>30.0 (24)</i>	<i>41.3 (33)</i>	<i>8.8 (7)</i>	<i>20.0 (16)</i>
<i>5</i>	<i>2.0 (80)</i>	<i>12.5 (10)</i>	<i>80.0 (64)</i>	<i>6.3 (5)</i>	<i>1.3 (1)</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>2.7 (78)</i>	<i>16.7 (13)</i>	<i>24.4 (19)</i>	<i>34.6 (27)</i>	<i>24.4 (19)</i>
<i>7</i>	<i>1.8 (77)</i>	<i>33.8 (26)</i>	<i>51.9 (40)</i>	<i>11.7 (9)</i>	<i>2.6 (2)</i>
<i>8</i>	<i>2.0 (79)</i>	<i>21.3 (17)</i>	<i>70.0 (56)</i>	<i>6.3 (5)</i>	<i>1.3 (1)</i>

The questionnaire is given in the appendix.

Table 5: Attrition: Effect Sizes for the reading and maths scores of pupils who dropped out and on whom there was data prior to the intervention

		n	Effect Size	95%CI
Younger Cohort	Maths	362	0.09	0.11
Younger Cohort	Reading	358	0.03	0.11
Older Cohort	Maths	1763	0.08	0.06
Older Cohort	Reading	1696	0.12	0.06

Table 6 Null & 1st multi-level model for the younger cohort's cognitive outcomes

	Maths	Maths	Reading	Reading	Vocab.	Vocab.	Non-verbal	Non-verbal
	Null	1 st model	Null	1 st model	Null	1 st model	Null	1 st model
Fixed								
Constant	0.026 (0.034)	-0.003 (0.053)	0.020 (0.034)	-0.075 (0.053)	0.025 (0.042)	-0.054 (0.065)	0.022 (0.041)	-0.030 (0.065)
Same age		-0.099 (0.113)		0.019 (0.102)		-0.008 (0.127)		-0.006 (0.138)
Cross age		0.195 (0.119)		0.246 (0.106)		0.234 (0.132)		0.192 (0.145)
Random								
Student	0.891 (0.021)	0.894 (0.023)	0.888 (0.021)	0.891 (0.022)	0.807 (0.019)	0.085 (0.020)	0.837 (0.020)	0.848 (0.021)
School	0.116 (0.019)	0.122 (0.021)	0.117 (0.019)	0.111 (0.020)	0.204 (0.029)	0.195 (0.031)	0.187 (0.027)	0.207 (0.033)

Table 7 Summary of Effect Sizes from the multi-level model coefficients for the younger cohort's cognitive outcomes

	Maths	Reading	Vocab.	Non-verbal
Same age	-0.105 (0.120)	0.020 (0.108)	-0.009 (0.141)	-0.007 (0.151)
Cross age	0.207 (0.126)	0.261 (0.112)	0.248 (0.140)	0.203 (0.154)
Light	0.087 (0.101)	0.143 (0.096)	0.094 (0.118)	0.101 (0.123)
Intensive	-0.086 (0.115)	0.103 (0.108)	0.125 (0.132)	-0.032 (0.069)
Subject alone	-0.030 (0.095)	0.181 (0.090)	0.177 (0.109)	-0.034 (0.114)
Read & math	0.113 (0.107)	0.000 (0.100)	-0.039 (0.121)	0.270 (0.127)

Subject alone: The outcomes for maths interventions were maths and non-verbal and for reading for reading and picture vocabulary.

Table 8 Summary of Effect Sizes from the multi-level model coefficients for the older cohort's cognitive outcomes

	Maths	Reading	Science	Vocab.	Non-verbal
Same age	0.001 (0.119)	-0.056 (0.127)	-0.064 (0.117)	-0.096 (0.142)	-0.070 (0.162)
Cross age	0.221 (0.120)	0.253 (0.131)	0.236 (0.120)	0.284 (0.143)	0.053 (0.154)
Light	0.184 (0.106)	0.102 (0.114)	0.081 (0.107)	0.033 (0.125)	0.047 (0.135)
Intensive	-0.086 (0.105)	0.003 (0.129)	0.002 (0.119)	0.104 (0.142)	-0.170 (0.148)
Subject alone	0.106 (0.110)	-0.033 (0.114)	0.036 (0.108)	0.005 (0.131)	-0.051 (0.137)
Read & maths	0.101 (0.118)	0.280 (0.125)	0.100 (0.115)	0.208 (0.143)	0.032 (0.146)

Subject alone: The outcomes for maths interventions were maths, science and non-verbal and for reading and Picture vocabulary.

Table 9 Summary of Effect Sizes from the multi-level model coefficients for the younger cohort's attitudinal outcomes

	Mathematics	Reading
Same age	0.011 (0.109)	0.099 (0.088)
Cross age	0.024 (0.112)	-0.060 (0.088)
Light	0.011 (0.088)	-0.007 (0.073)
Intensive	0.035 (0.102)	-0.050 (0.082)
Subject alone	-0.065 (0.086)	-0.030 (0.070)
Reading and mathematics	0.151 (0.095)	0.008 (0.075)

Table 10 Summary of Effect Sizes from the multi-level model coefficients for the older cohort's attitudinal outcomes

	Mathematics	Reading
Same age	-0.020 (0.112)	-0.233 (0.107)
Cross age	0.117 (0.114)	0.074 (0.110)
Light	0.088 (0.100)	-0.159 (0.095)
Intensive	-0.077 (0.016)	-0.052 (0.107)
Subject alone	0.087 (0.101)	-0.310 (0.095)
Reading and mathematics	-0.073 (0.014)	0.274 (0.104)